

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

SAM-01 SAJ-01 IO-13 /081 W

----- 027847

R 141911Z MAY 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8926

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 08307

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: THE MOOD IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE

REFS: (A) BONN 7926; (B) BONN 6158; (C) BONN 4232

BEGIN SUMMARY: ELECTION YEAR PRESSURES AS WELL AS THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER ARE HAVING
SUBSTANTIVE INFLUENCE ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. LACK OF
LEADERSHIP FROM GENSCHER'S TOP AIDES IS HAMPERING THE
FOREIGN OFFICE PERFORMANCE. SEVERAL MAJOR FRG
AMBASSADORS ARE COINCIDENTALLY DUE FOR CHANGE. PERSON-
NEL WHO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH U.S. ALSO HAVE BEEN CHANGED.
END SUMMARY.

1. A COMBINATION OF ELECTION-YEAR PRESSURES, SORTING
OUT OF POLICIES AND PRIORITIES BETWEEN THE CHANCELLOR
(AND CHANCELLERY) AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER (AND FOREIGN
OFFICE), AND THE CONTINUING DIFFICULTY OF GENSCHER
TO FIND HIS PLACE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY SUN OUT OF THE
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SHADOW OF SCHMIDT HAS CAUSED A MOOD OF SUSPENSION IN

THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

2. GENSCHER CAME INTO HIS OWN DURING THE DEBATE OVER RATIFICATION OF THE POLISH PENSION AGREEMENT IN MARCH. SCHMIDT, FOR BOTH PERSONAL AND POLITICAL REASONS (BONN 4232) REFRAINED FROM TRYING TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE WITH THE OPPOSITION ON THE ONE HAND AND THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ON THE OTHER. GENSCHER WENT TO WORK AND CAME UP WITH AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH MET WITH THE UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF THE BUNDESRAT.

3. THE RESULT WAS AN IMMEDIATE AND VISIBLE RISE IN GENSCHER'S STOCK. DER SPIEGEL CLAIMED THAT AT LAST GENSCHER HAD BECOME FOREIGN MINISTER IN FACT AS WELL AS NAME. OUR CONTACTS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE TOOK PRIDE IN THEIR CHIEF'S ACCOMPLISHMENT, REGARDED IT A JOB WELL DONE, AND WALKED A BIT STRAIGHTER AND TALLER IN THE HALLS.

4. GENSCHER'S POLISH TRIUMPH, HOWEVER, WAS FOLLOWED CLOSELY BY THE BADEN-WURTEMBERG ELECTIONS IN EARLY APRIL, WHEN THE FDP DID NOT DO WELL. GENSCHER IMMEDIATELY IMMERSED HIMSELF EVEN DEEPER IN HIS ROLE OF PARTY LEADER AS A RESULT. OUR CONTACTS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE QUICKLY SHIFTED FROM SINGING GENSCHER'S PRAISE TO COMPLAINING ABOUT HOW HARD IT IS TO PUSH PAPERS THROUGH HIS OFFICE. THEY SEE LITTLE CHANCE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THIS SITUATION BETWEEN NOW AND OCTOBER.

5. THE PRESSURES OF AN ELECTION YEAR HAVE ALSO BEEN FELT IN SUBSTANTIVE AREAS. THE CHANCELLERY APPARENTLY TOLD THE FOREIGN OFFICE TO GO SLOW ON RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPE, ONE AREA IN WHICH GENSCHER REPORTEDLY LIKES TO WORK. POSTPONEMENT OF THE KADAR AND HUSAK VISITS WAS THE RESULT. GENSCHER HIMSELF WANTS TO TAKE A HARD LINE WITH THE SOVIETS IN PENDING NEGOTIATIONS (BONN 6158) IN ORDER TO AVOID CRITICISM THAT ANY COMPROMISES WITH THE SOVIETS OVER BERLIN CLAUSES WOULD ALMOST INEVITABLY PROVOKE. SCHMIDT, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONFIDENTIAL

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SMELLS ELECTORAL GOLD IN A BREZHNEV VISIT AND IS REPORTEDLY CAREFULLY AND CAUTIOUSLY NEGOTIATING ONE.

6. GENSCHER HAS ALSO DRAWN IN HIS HORNS ON THIRD WORLD MATTERS. HE, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS RULED OUT BEING AS FORTHCOMING TOWARD BLACK ASPIRATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS THE THIRD DEPARTMENT IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE WOULD LIKE HIM TO BE FOR FEAR OF APPEARING TO BE ACCOMMODATING

MOVEMENTS SUCH AS THE MPLA WHICH ARE IDENTIFIED AS
COMMUNIST CONTROLLED. THE RESULT HAS BEEN A HAPPY ONE
FOR US AND A SAFE POLICY FOR GENSCHER: FORTHRIGHT
SUPPORT FOR U.S. POLICY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 08307

7. THE ELECTION IS HAVING A DIFFERENT EFFECT ON GERMAN
WESTERN EUROPEAN POLICY, WHERE ALL THE PARTIES ARE
TRYING TO OUTDO EACH OTHER IN BOLSTERING THEIR CREDEN-
TIALS AS SUPPORTERS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. SCHMIDT,
WHOSE DISTASTE FOR THE EC HAS NEVER BEEN FAR FROM THE
SURFACE, REPEATEDLY HAS VOICED HIS SUPPORT FOR INTE-
GRATION AND UNION. GENSCHER HAS WORKED HARD IN TRYING
TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON DIRECT ELECTIONS OF A EUROPEAN
PARLIAMENT, IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL COOPERATION, AND
EC CONSIDERATION OF THE TINDEMANS REPORT. ALL THE
PARTIES, INCLUDING THE OPPOSITION, HAVE BEEN IN THE

LEAD IN FOUNDING EUROPEAN PARTIES AS THEY JOCKEY FOR POSITION IN THE STILL-ELUSIVE DIRECTLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT.

8. GENSCHER'S PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN HANDICAPPED BY A COMBINATION OF FACTORS WHICH HAS PRODUCED A LEADERSHIP
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VACUUM JUST BELOW HIM IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE. HIS DEPUTY, STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOFF, HAS BEEN SIDELINED THE PAST FEW MONTHS WITH A SEVERE STROKE AND IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE ABLE TO TAKE UP FULLY THE DEMANDS OF HIS OFFICE. STATE MINISTERS MOERSCH AND WISCHNEWSKI REPORTEDLY BOTH HAVE ONE FOOT OUT THE DOOR AS THEY DO NOT CONCEAL THEIR DESIRE TO RETURN FULL TIME TO FDP AND SPD WORK RESPECTIVELY. STATE SECRETARY BAUM FROM INTERIOR, AN FDP MAN, IS A POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT FOR MOERSCH.

9. THE UNUSUAL COINCIDENCE OF FIVE MAJOR FRG EMBASSIES COMING UP FOR CHANGE AT THE SAME TIME - MOSCOW, LONDON, PARIS, NATO AND PEKING - HAS LENT A CERTAIN DEGREE OF UNCERTAINTY. WHILE WE UNDERSTAND THAT "EVERY SENIOR GERMAN DIPLOMAT" HAS BEEN MENTIONED FOR THESE POSTS IN LUNCHTIME CONVERSATIONS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE SEVENTH FLOOR CAFETERIA, WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY AN AIDE OF GENSCHER THAT ERWIN WICKERT, PRESENTLY IN BUCHAREST, WILL TAKE PAULS' PLACE IN PEKING. PAULS' APPOINTMENT TO NATO HAS BEEN CONFIRMED. THE KEY TO THE REST OF THE MOVES IS THE PARIS EMBASSY. GEHLHOFF AND SANNE (FORMERLY ASSIGNED TO THE CHANCELLERY) ARE RUMORED TO BE THE TOP CANDIDATES, BUT THE DOUBTFUL HEALTH OF BOTH MAY ELIMINATE THEM. OUR LATEST INFORMATION IS THAT NO CHANGE WILL BE MADE IN LONDON BUT THAT MOSCOW MAY GET A NEW AMBASSADOR.

10. THERE IS MUCH SPECULATION ABOUT THE FUTURE OF GUENTHER VAN WELL, POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF DEPARTMENT 2. ONE REPORT HAS IT THAT GENSCHER DOES NOT LIKE HIM AND PLANS TO SEND HIM OFF TO MOSCOW. ACCORDING TO ANOTHER, GENSCHER WAS PLEASED WITH VAN WELL'S PERFORMANCE DURING THE POLISH DEBATE AND MAY GIVE HIM GEHLHOFF'S JOB. IN THAT CASE, KLAUS BLECH, CHIEF OF THE PLANNING STAFF, HAS TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HE MAY BE NAMED TO REPLACE VAN WELL. HOWEVER, GENSCHER'S AIDE TOLD US GENSCHER HAS NOT USED BLECH'S PLANNING STAFF VERY MUCH.

11. CHANGES IN OFFICIALS DEALING DIRECTLY WITH U.S. AFFAIRS HAVE TAKEN PLACE. JUERGEN RUHFUS HAS MOVED
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FROM HIS DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOB IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE TO THE CHANCELLERY TO REPLACE THE AILING SANNE. FRANZ PFEFFER WAS MOVED UP FROM THE NATO DESK TO REPLACE RUHFUS, AND THE HEAD OF THE U.S. DESK, FREDO DANNENBRING, MOVED OVER TO PFEFFER'S JOB. RUDOLPH WOLF, WHO SERVED PREVIOUSLY AS POLITICAL-MILITARY COUNSELOR IN WASHINGTON, WAS BROUGHT BACK FROM OTTAWA TO REPLACE DANNENBRING.

12. WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE THAT ANY OF THE CHANGES DISCUSSED ABOVE WILL HAVE A SIGNIFICANT OR LASTING INFLUENCE ON U.S./FRG BILATERAL RELATIONS. ON THE BROADER PICTURE, WE DO ANTICIPATE THAT THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE WILL INFLUENCE THE CONDUCT OF FRG POLICY AS OUTLINED IN PARAS 5,6, AND 7.

HILLENBRAND

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